[564] families. It was, however, demanded from Ngoni children
563 that they should behave in the socially approved manner to
[567] everyone, and not only to their Ngoni kin and fellow clans-
men. And it was evident in non-Ngoni families that there was
often some attempt to teach Ngoni standards of behaviour
to their children, but that such attempts broke down when
their family system was not organized to enforce the neces-
sary training.

576 *The goals of Ngoni child training*

577 Ngoni adults, and especially the senior men and women who
[567] were in control of the training of children and themselves
deeply conscious of the traditional values of their society,
summed up the aims of the upbringing of children in one
word 'respect'. The vernacular term *ulemu*—in the old
Ngoni language *klemjo*—is a concept very difficult to trans-
late adequately, certainly to convey its full meaning in a
single English word or phrase. The nearest terms are honour
and respect, and though in some contexts it is often trans-
lated as politeness, that is too limited a term. In fact they
had another vernacular term to express courtesy which was
to them one way of showing respect. The concept of *ulemu*
included the recognition that a particular person or office
was entitled to honour; that all behaviour to that person
must express respect; and that by showing respect in langu-
age, posture and action, a child or adult so behaving, shared
in that honour which they were acknowledging. Conversely,
through failing to convey respect, a person, whether child
● [559] or adult, was 'ashamed' and lost face accordingly. I have
just said that a particular person was entitled to honour and
therefore to respect in the behaviour of others. The Ngoni
said that was the origin of the concept, and it was demon-
strated in the punctilious observance of etiquette to all
chiefs, and to all leading men and women by everyone else.
[559] But there was an extension of this concept to include all
older people, and Ngoni children were expected to show

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 F'85 Ngoni F'85 Mpezeni

One reason why the two bureaucracies remain separate is that members of the Civil Service are moved from one headquarters to another as the exigencies of the service demand, whereas a Native Authority councillor or foreman cannot, in general, seek similar employment in another tribe. In 1951 an Ngoni Native treasury clerk was transferred to a similar post in a neighbouring tribe, but moves of this kind are still exceptional, and almost out of the question where chiefs' posts are concerned. Clerks and messengers employed by the Administration are more likely to be moved at short notice, and the whole process of adaptation has to be begun again. The Ngoni clerk who is moved away from Ngoni country has to settle down to life in a strange district, and the stranger who comes to Fort Jameson has to find his way around the complexities of Ngoni society.

This factor of movement is even more significant in the case of the White administrators. Most of them spend only a few years in Nyasaland, and to them the Ngoni are merely one tribe among the many that they meet with in the course of their professional lives. Most of them can speak Nyanja, which most Ngoni can understand, so that there is not the added complication of interaction through interpreters, with the interpreters in a key social position, as Mitchell points out for the Nyasaland Yao.[1] But even though they can speak directly to Ngoni, it takes time for them to learn the faces of the people they see in the various Native Courts and at tribal meetings, and it also takes time to determine how these faces are related in a political system. Thus of necessity administrators are forced to rely on the advice of the African Civil Service, principally the messengers and clerks, and of the important chiefs whom they need local knowledge to guide them. Chiefs and clerks attempt to establish firm relations with the administrators with whom they work, but owing to the great social distance which separates Black and White throughout southern Africa, there is little scope for this. Some messengers like to suggest that it is they, and not the White administrators, who really decide what shall be done. While this may have been partially true at one time, it is not true now. As Ngoni society has changed gradually in the direction of something with which administrators are more familiar, and as the content of administrative action has become less and less restricted to such simple activities as collecting tax and making roads, so the power of the district messenger has declined.[2]

[1] Mitchell, 'Political Organization of the Yao', pp. 133-4.

[2] Bradley, *Diary of a District Officer*, records in interesting fashion the relationship between himself, as District Officer, and Head Messenger Kachaje of Fort Jameson.

64 charged by him with specific functions relating to the State as a whole, and appear to have exercised general jurisdiction. Other lieutenants were known as the lieutenants of such-and-such a royal village, and were appointed by Mpezeni to look after the queens of the village and to be responsible for the internal ordering of the village.

In addition to these lieutenants each important person had a deputy,[1] who was a patrilineal kinsman of the same generation. Each new holder of the principal office selected his own deputy. The deputy's task was to act for his principal in his absence and to serve as an intermediary between the principal and his lieutenants.

[611] All these posts were hereditary in the agnatic line, except for that
[558] of deputy, but new posts were continually being created and the holders of other posts fell into disgrace. Some of the lieutenants of Mpezeni were also headmen of their own villages, while other lieutenants were promoted to be regional governors.

681 Increase in population led to increase in the number of villages and
178 of recognizable divisions within villages, both by divisional fission and
161 by the setting up of separate establishments for groups of wives. This process, operating in response to population pressure from below, was assisted from above by the need to give newly created lieutenants and governors their own dependants and their own recognizable residential cluster.

681 The relative position and importance of a segment of the political
641 structure might alter if its leader was killed in battle or if he offended the Paramount. For example, a certain lieutenant who had a village of his own committed adultery with one of Mpezeni's queens. He was
[684] put to death, and all his followers were made to come and live in a
641 royal village. But in addition to the natural increase in the population
777 of any segment, new members were added by capture in war. There
563 was never any distinct class of slaves or captives in the Ngoni State.
[567] Apart from the aristocratic families which traced their history back to the pre-migration period in Natal, the rest of the tribe had been either captured at one time or other on the way north, or had joined the Ngoni of their own volition. On capture, people were assigned to some or other important person, and after a while acquired a certain
563 autonomy of their own. The men were all enrolled into the age-set
641 regiment appropriate to their age, and it was possible for them to rise
701 to high positions in the State. No distinction of ethnic origin was

[1] *Manene*, pl. *ongene*. Cf. the Zulu term *unanesi*, younger brother who is next to the heir.